

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 MMO-01 SIG-03 HA-05
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
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O P 240250Z FEB 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 047788

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

C O R R E C T E D COPY (PARA 2 LINES 3 ND 4 GARBLED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

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SUBJECT: NAMIBIA - NEXT STEPS

REF: A) USUN 608; B) USUN 607; C) CAPE TOWN 323;
D) CAPE TOWN 318; E) CAPE TOWN 406

1. DEPARTMENT IS IN GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH SHORT-TERM
WORK PROGRAM AGREED BY CONTACT GROUP (REF A). REPORTING

FROM CAPE TOWN, IN PARTICULAR REFS C AND E, HIGHLIGHTS NEED FOR SPEED AND NECESSITY OF KEEPING DIALOGUE GOING, IF WE ARE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF APPARENT SAG DESIRE TO KEEP LINES OF COMMUNICATION WITH CONTACT GROUP OPEN.

2. IN VIEW OF SWAPO'S REFUSAL TO SHOW GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN RESPONSE TO CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS TO DEVISE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS IN PROPOSAL, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR MAJOR EFFORT IN SHORT-TERM SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED ON SAG. ALTHOUGH WE RECOGNIZE THAT OUR LEVERAGE ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS IS DISTINCTLY LIMITED, WE ARE STRUCK BY FACTORS WHICH EMBASSY CAPE TOWN'S REPORTING HAS HIGHLIGHTED. IF INDEED SAG IS SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING A QUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE OF "CLARIFIED" CONTACT

GROUP PROPOSAL - IF ONLY AS A MEANS TO SHIFT THE ONUS OF INTRANSIGENCE TO SWAPO - THIS WOULD ARGUE FOR CONCENTRATING ON SAG SIDE OF THE EQUATION. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON SWAPO, PARTICULARLY THROUGH THE KEY AFRICAN STATES IN ORDER TO AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT WE NO LONGER REQUIRE THEIR ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT.

3. WITH REGARD TO PUBLICATION OF MAJOR ELEMENTS OF CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL IN "AFRICA NEWS," DEPARTMENT DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT, PER SE, NEGATES CONFIDENTIAL

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THE REQUIREMENT ESTABLISHED BY MINISTERS FOR A SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL FOR PRESS. "AFRICA NEWS" DOES NOT HAVE WIDE CIRCULATION OUTSIDE GROUPS WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AND WE BELIEVE THAT WIDER CIRCULATION OF SUBSTANCE OF CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL WOULD BE USEFUL.

4. DEPARTMENT AGREES THAT IT WILL BE USEFUL FOR CONTACT GROUP TO EXAMINE VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES FOR TAKING NAMIBIA ISSUE TO SECURITY COUNCIL. OUR PRELIMINARY THINKING ON THIS FOLLOWS FOR YOUR USE IN CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSION OF SCENARIO:

A) SOUTH AFRICA GIVES QUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSAL WHILE SWAPO DOES NOT REJECT IT. SHOULD THIS HAPPEN, WE BELIEVE IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION DIRECTING SYG TO NAME SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ACTIVITIES WOULD BE BASED ON CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL AND WHO WOULD UNDERTAKE QUICKLY TO RESOLVE ANY REMAINING POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT EITHER WITH SOUTH AFRICA OR WITH ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL STEYN. THIS OUTCOME WOULD REQUIRE AFRICANS TO GIVE STRONG

SUPPORT IN THE ABSENCE OF EXPLICIT SWAPO ASSENT.

B) NEITHER SIDE ACCEPTS PROPOSAL BUT BOTH INDICATE DESIRE TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH CONTACT GROUP, AND SOUTH AFRICA REFRAINS FROM UNILATERAL STEPS. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN RESOLUTION REQUESTING SYG TO APPOINT SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE FIRST TASK WOULD BE TO JOIN WITH CONTACT GROUP IN EFFORT TO BRING PARTIES TO FULL AGREEMENT. AGAIN, STRONG AFRICAN SUPPORT WILL BE NEEDED.

C) SOUTH AFRICA REJECTS PROPOSAL AND SWAPO REMAINS EITHER NON-COMMITTAL OR ADOPTS GENERALLY NEGATIVE

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STANCE. IN THIS CASE, WE BELIEVE THAT CONTACT GROUP SHOULD SEEK A RESOLUTION WHICH COULD BE USED TO PUT PUBLIC PRESSURE ON BOTH SIDES TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WOULD BE CLEARLY PREMATURE. IF A RESOLUTION APPEARS BEYOND REACH, WE MIGHT LIMIT OURSELVES TO TABLING PROPOSAL AS SC DOCUMENT AND CALLING ON PARTIES TO ACCEPT IT AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

5. WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL BE MOST DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR CONTACT GROUP INITIATIVES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITHOUT SWAPO'S ASSENT. HOWEVER, ON THE BASIS OF SWAPO'S PERFORMANCE TO DATE, WE MAY HAVE TO FACE THAT PROSPECT. THE ILLUSTRATIVE SCENARIOS OUTLINED ABOVE IN 4A AND 4B ARE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT, UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, THE AFRICANS WOULD BE PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE SWAPO NEITHER ASSENTS OR DISSENTS.

6. WE WOULD WELCOME VIEWS OF ADDRESSEE POSTS ON SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED PARAS 2 AND 4 ABOVE. VANCE

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